

## Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W  
-----018768 291807Z /42

O R 291516Z JUL 78  
FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7408  
INFO USMISSION USUN NY  
AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI  
AMEMBASSY COLOMBO  
AMEMBASSY CAIRO  
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV  
USINT HAVANA  
AMEMBASSY ALGIERS

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 BELGRADE 5557

EXDIS

EO 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PFOR, YO  
SUBJ: VRHOVEC AND HARRIMAN ON NONALIGNMENT

1. AT A BREAKFAST CONVERSATION ON JULY 29 GOVERNOR  
HARRIMAN ASKED FOREIGN SECRETARY VRHOVEC FOR A RUNDOWN  
ON THE CURRENT STATE OF THE NONALIGNED CONFERENCE.  
VRHOVEC MADE THE FOLLOWING POINTS: IN THE GENERAL  
DEBATE THUS FAR THE ONLY PROBLEM THAT HAS ARISEN WAS  
A KUWAITI ATTACK ON ETHIOPIA RE ERITREA. THIS ISSUE,  
WHILE MILDLY EMBARRASSING, HAS PROVED CONTAINABLE.  
WITHIN THE PREPARATORY COMMITTEE THERE WAS A CONTROVERSY  
ON THE WESTERN SAHARA WHICH HAS BEEN SOLVED BY  
COMPROMISE. AN AGREEMENT WAS REACHED TO KEEP THE  
ISSUE ON THE AGENDA, TO ASSURE THAT THE DEBATE ON THE  
ISSUE IN PLENARY SESSION WOULD BE CONSTRUCTIVE, AND TO  
HAVE THE FINAL DOCUMENT ADVOCATE A PEACEFUL SOLUTION ON  
THE BASIS OF PRINCIPLES IN THE UNITED NATIONS, THE NAM,

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AND THE OAU. THE KHARTOUM AD HOC COMMITTEE WILL BE  
SPECIFICALLY MENTIONED AND SUPPORTED.

2. THE PRINCIPAL PROBLEM STILL UNDER DISCUSSION  
INVOLVES THE CHARACTER OF THE NONALIGNED MOVEMENT. IT  
IS A DEBATE THAT FROM THE YUGOSLAV POINT OF VIEW IS  
CONTINUING TO GO WELL. THE TITO ROLE IN THE CONFERENCE

HAS BEEN VITAL IN ASSURING AN ACCEPTABLE OUTCOME. IN HIS SPEECH PRESIDENT TITO MADE HIS OWN POSITION CLEAR IN A PRECISE MANNER AND IT HAS THEREFORE MADE IT IMPOSSIBLE FOR OTHER DELEGATIONS WHICH MAY DISAGREE WITH THIS POSITION OPENLY TO DISPUTE THE LINE HE TOOK. SPEAKERS FROM BOTH LEFT AND RIGHT HAVE QUOTED HIS SPEECH, ADMITTEDLY SOME OF THEM QUOTING ONLY THOSE PARTS WITH WHICH THEY AGREE. HOWEVER, EVEN IN THE LATTER CASE, IT HAS BEEN IMPOSSIBLE FOR THOSE WHO OPPOSE THE YUGOSLAV STAND EXPLICITLY TO CONTEST TITO'S POSITION. AN ADDITIONAL FACTOR THAT HAS HELPED THE YUGOSLAV POSITION IS THAT SINCE THE CONFERENCE IS TAKING PLACE IN BELGRADE "THE MODERATES" CAN MAKE THE POINT THAT THIS IS THE WORST PLACE FOR DISPUTES IN THE NONALIGNED TO SURFACE.

3. THUS FAR IN THE WORKING COMMITTEES YUGOSLAV POSITIONS HAVE BEEN ALMOST TOTALLY ACCEPTED. IN THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE DRAFTING GROUP EVEN THE WORD "HEGEMONY" HAS BEEN ADOPTED. THE YUGOSLAVS HAVE YET TO SEE HOW THIS LANGUAGE WILL FARE IN THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE. (NOTE: WE UNDERSTAND THAT THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE LAST NIGHT AGREED TO RETAIN THE WORD "HEGEMONY.")

4. GOVERNOR HARRIMAN ASKED WHETHER THE YUGOSLAVS WERE  
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WORRIED ABOUT CASTRO'S POSITION OF LEADERSHIP AND THE CONSEQUENCES OF NEXT YEAR'S HAVANA MEETING. VRHOVEC REPLIED THAT WHILE IT WAS OF SOME CONCERN HE THOUGHT IT WAS A "CONTAINABLE PROBLEM." THERE IS MUCH TALK NOW WITHIN THE CONFERENCE ON WAYS TO "DEMOCRATIZE" THE COORDINATING BUREAU, TO DENY THE BUREAU ANY RIGHT TO MAKE DECISIONS, AND TO LIMIT ITS ROLE STRICTLY TO IMPLEMENTATION OF DECISIONS ALREADY MADE AT EARLIER CONFERENCES. VRHOVEC SAID THAT WHILE THE "CUBAN PROBLEM" IS AN IMPORTANT ISSUE IN BELGRADE, THE ONLY CRITICAL ISSUE IS THE YUGOSLAV EFFORT TO CONFIRM THE CHARACTER, PRINCIPLES AND ORIENTATION OF THE NONALIGNED MOVEMENT. IN THAT STRUGGLE THE YUGOSLAVS THINK THEY WILL WIN. HARRIMAN THEN ASKED WHETHER CASTRO WOULD STILL BE IN A POSITION TO DISTORT THE BELGRADE OUTCOME AND VRHOVEC REPLIED THAT HE DID NOT BELIEVE SO. HE SAID THAT IF THE CUBANS TRIED THERE WOULD BE A MAJOR

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S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 BELGRADE 5557

EXDIS

BATTLE IN WHICH IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS CASTRO WOULD BE  
THE LOSER.

5. ACCORDING TO VRHOVEC THE CUBANS CAME TO BELGRADE  
IN A VERY AGGRESSIVE MOOD, FOUND OUT THE ATTITUDES OF  
OTHER DELEGATIONS, AND THEN BACKED DOWN. CUBAN SPEECH  
YESTERDAY WAS "NOT TOO TOUGH." IT IS INTERESTING TO  
NOTE THAT THE CUBANS HAD ORIGINALLY ASKED TO SPEAK IN  
PLENARY ON THE FIRST DAY OF THE CONFERENCE AND THEN  
REPEATEDLY POSTPONED THEIR APPEARANCE UNTIL YESTERDAY.  
VRHOVEC SAID THAT HE KNEW THE CUBAN SPEECH HAD BEEN  
REWRITTEN SEVERAL TIMES.

6. WHEN THE CUBANS CAME TO BELGRADE THEY MADE NO  
SECRET OF THEIR STRONG OPPOSITION TO THE YUGOSLAV  
PREPARED DRAFT OF THE FINAL DOCUMENT. THEY TRIED VERY  
HARD TO ORGANIZE OPPOSITION TO THE DRAFT AND WROTE  
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THEIR OWN "VERY AGGRESSIVE" ASSESSMENT OF THE YUGOSLAV  
DOCUMENT WHICH THEY PASSED OUT TO SOME DELEGATIONS.  
VRHOVEC PERSONALLY TOLD THE HEAD OF THE CUBAN DELEGATION

THAT HE CONSIDERED THE PAPER "SCANDALOUS" AND THAT YUGOSLAVIA WOULD NOT REPEAT NOT DISCUSS IT. THE CUBANS THEN WITHDREW THEIR ASSESSMENT AND HAVE BEEN MUCH LESS AGGRESSIVE EVER SINCE.

7. ON THE MIDDLE EAST, VRHOVEC SAID THAT WHATEVER THE ARABS AGREE TO WILL BE ACCEPTED BY THE CONFERENCE. WHILE HE HAS NOT YET SEEN THE ARAB DRAFT (WHICH HE UNDERSTANDS HAS BEEN AGREED UPON) HE HAS BEEN TOLD THAT IT WILL BE "VERY TOUGH" ON THE ISRAELIS. HE ADDED THAT IT WILL CLEARLY BE ONE OF THE FEW PARTS OF THE FINAL DOCUMENT THAT WILL BE CRITICAL OF THE UNITED STATES. FEELING AGAINST THE ISRAELIS, HE SAID, IS INTENSE HERE AND EVEN THE MODERATES ARE DISINCLINED TO DO ANYTHING THAT APPEARS TO BE DEFENDING ISRAEL. (SEPTTEL REPORTS ARAB ME DRAFT WHICH IS JUST AS TOUGH ON ISRAEL AND THE US AS VRHOVEC SAYS IT IS.)

8. GOVERNOR HARRIMAN REMARKED THAT NO ONE CAN IN FAIRNESS BLAME PRESIDENT CARTER FOR PRIME MINISTER BEGIN. NO AMERICAN PRESIDENT HAS BEEN SO OUTSPOKEN IN SUPPORT OF UN RESOLUTION 242 AND NO AMERICAN PRESIDENT HAS UNDERTAKEN GREATER POLITICAL RISKS AT HOME IN ORDER TO DEMONSTRATE HIS SUPPORT FOR MODERATE ARAB GOVERNMENTS (E.G., THE ARMS SALES TO SAUDI ARABIA AND EGYPT).

9. VRHOVEC REPLIED THAT THIS IS TRUE AND THE YUGOSLAVS KNOW IT BUT THAT NONALIGNED STATES ARE IN NO POSITION TO HAVE ANY IMPACT ON THE MIDDLE EAST PORTION OF THE FINAL DOCUMENT.

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10. VRHOVEC SAID THAT THE CARTER MESSAGE TO THE CONFERENCE WAS EXTREMELY IMPORTANT AND VERY USEFUL. HE SAID HE WAS GRATEFUL FOR IT AND NOTED THAT THE SOVIETS HAD NOT REPEAR NOT SENT A MESSAGE.

11. VRHOVEC SAID THAT WHATEVER INCLINATION THERE MAY HAVE BEEN EARLIER TO CHANGE THE VENUE OF THE 1979 HAVANA MEETING HAS SUBSIDED, AND THAT THE ISSUE NOW IS OVER THE DATE OF NEXT YEAR'S MEETING. HE SAID THAT SOME OF THE ANTI-CUBAN DELEGATIONS WOULD PROBABLY USE A DEBATE OVER THE DATE AS A MEANS TO SHOW THEIR DISPLEASURE WITH CUBA, BUT THAT IN THE LAST ANALYSIS THE CUBANS ARE IN THE DRIVER'S SEAT ON THIS ISSUE BECAUSE THEY HAVE ALREADY SUGGESTED SEPTEMBER AND IT IS HARD TO ARGUE THAT SEPTEMBER IS TOO EARLY IN THE YEAR.

12. NOTE TO DEPT: WE HAVE NOT INDICATED BROADER

DISTRIBUTION OF THIS MESSAGE GIVEN VRHOVEC' FRANKNESS,  
PARTICULARLY CONCERNING THE CUBANS.  
EAGLEBURGER

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## Message Attributes

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